

## Message Text

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17/20

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INR/DDR:MPACKMAN

PM/ISP:ATURRENTINE

D/LOS:OESKIN

OASD/ISA:MGBOWMAN

JCS/J5:COL. JCOYNE (INFORMED)

EB/FSE:SBOSWORTH

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 167410

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (ADDITIONAL CLEARANCES ADDED)

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS:PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT:US LEADERSHIP IN ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS

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REF: USNATO 3114

1. DEPT APPRECIATES MISSION'S PROPOSALS REFTEL FOR  
FOLLOWING UP PRESIDENT FORD'S CALL FOR INCREASED ALLIANCE

CONSULTATIONS. WE AGREE THAT US LEADERSHIP IS NECESSARY AND DESIRABLE IN THIS AREA, BUT IN INTENSIFYING OUR EFFORTS, WE WILL ALSO BE WATCHING FOR QUALITY OF ALLIED RESPONSE.

2. IN DEVELOPING PROPOSALS FOR FUTURE CONSULTATIONS IN LIGHT OF US INTERESTS, WE HAVE IN MIND DISTINCTION BETWEEN (A) POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS WHICH CAN HAVE DIRECT IMPACT ON POLICY, AND (B) EXPERT LEVEL CONSULTATIONS, WHICH CONTRIBUTE TO OVERALL COHESION OF ALLIANCE BUT ARE GENERALLY OF GREATER BENEFIT IN TERMS OF INFORMATION AND ANALYSIS TO ALLIES THAN TO US. WHILE LATTER ARE IMPORTANT, EFFORTS INVESTED IN BROADENING AND IMPROVING THE FORMER WOULD SEEM TO PROMISE GREATER POLITICAL RETURN FOR US IN STRENGTHENING ALLIANCE.

3. ACTION: AFTER SUCH CONSULTATION WITH SYG OR OTHERS AS YOU DEEM PROPER, YOU SHOULD PROPOSE IN NAC THAT ALLIANCE PERIODICALLY ESTABLISH AN ADVANCE SCHEDULE OF POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS WHICH, IN ADDITION TO LISTING THE REGULAR EXPERT DISCUSSIONS, WOULD IDENTIFY THE NAC MEETINGS TO BE REINFORCED BY POLICY-LEVEL OFFICIALS ON SPECIFIC SUBJECTS ADVANCE CONSIDERATION BY THE NAC OF SUCH A SCHEDULE WILL PRESUMABLY RESULT IN PRIOR COMMITMENT BY SENIOR OFFICIALS IN CAPITALS TO PARTICIPATE ACTIVELY IN NAC REVIEWS.

4. IN TERMS OF SUBJECT MATTER, THE FIELD FOR EXPANSION OF ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS LIES PRIMARILY ON THE MARGINS OF THE TREATY AREA (EITHER GEOGRAPHICALLY OR PHILOSOPHICALLY), SINCE EXISTING PROCEDURES SEEM TO COVER THE TRADITIONAL CONCERNS RATHER WELL. THE ALLIED RESPONSE TO THE SUEZ CANAL STUDY IN POLADS AND THE ECONOMIC/SECURITY STUDY IN ECONADS INDICATE A WILLINGNESS TO PUSH CAREFULLY INTO NEW AREAS. AT THE SAME TIME, FRENCH STATEMENTS MAKE CLEAR THAT WE COULD CONFIDENTIAL

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CAUSE A REACTION IF WE FORCE THE CONSULTATION PACE TOO HARD IN THE FACE OF THEIR WELL-KNOWN DOCTRINE. WITH THESE CONSIDERATIONS IN MIND, FOLLOWING ARE OUR COMMENTS ON SPECIFIC IDEAS OUTLINED REFTTEL, WITH SOME ADDITIONAL SUGGESTIONS.

5. REINFORCED NAC AND DPC.

-- UN AND LOS HAVE BEEN SUBJECTS FOR CONSULTATION. FORMER NOW BEING ARRANGED, THOUGH WITH DIFFICULTY. WE WOULD EXPECT TO HOLD LOS CONSULTATIONS IN NAC, AS IN PAST, SOME TIME IN LATE FALL OR EARLY WINTER IN PREPARATION FOR NEXT SESSION IN MARCH, 1976. WE WOULD APPRECIATE FURTHER MISSION ANALYSIS AND ADVICE AS TO UTILITY OF PROMOTING

AN IS/IMS STUDY ON MAJOR LOS ISSUES, AS SUGGESTED  
USNATO 2795.

-- MIDDLE EAST WILL CONTINUE TO POSE SPECIAL PROBLEMS.  
GRANTED THE INTENSE AND LEGITIMATE INTEREST OF ALLIES IN  
THIS SUBJECT, THE DELICACY OF OUR OWN POSITION IN THE AREA  
REQUIRES THAT WE CONTINUE TO APPROACH CONSULTATIONS IN  
THE RATHER AD HOC WAY WE HAVE IN THE PAST--DOING OUR  
BEST TO INFORM ALLIES AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AT HIGHEST  
PRACTICABLE LEVEL AT EACH SIGNIFICANT STAGE. ONE  
POSSIBILITY FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT IN THIS AREA,  
HOWEVER, MIGHT BE MEDITERRANEAN REPORT, WHICH WAS NOT

MENTIONED REFTEL. THIS WAS ONE OF SYG LUNS' SIX TOPICS  
FOR FOLLOW-UP TO THE SUMMIT, BUT HAS APPARENTLY NOT YET  
BEEN DISCUSSED BY NAC. WHILE MAINTAINING TRADITIONAL  
EXCLUSION OF ARAB/ISRAELI CONFLICT AS SUCH, PERHAPS  
THIS SEMI-ANNUAL REPORT--WHICH DIFFERS FROM EXPERTS  
REPORTS IN BEING NEGOTIATED AT NATO ON BASIS OF  
INSTRUCTIONS FROM CAPITALS--COULD BE EXPANDED TO TAKE  
COGNIZANCE OF THE PERSIAN GULF AND/OR THE INDIAN  
OCEAN, WITH OR WITHOUT STRICT LIMITATION TO OPTIC OF  
SOVIET PENETRATION. DEPENDING ON EXPERIENCE IN  
DEVELOPING THE STUDY, IT COULD BECOME CANDIDATE FOR  
REINFORCED NAC, TOGETHER WITH MIDDLE EAST EXPERTS REPORT.

-- EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN DEVELOPMENTS OFFER  
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INTERESTING POSSIBILITIES FOR REINFORCED CONSULTATIONS  
AT NATO AS BOTH US AND SOVIET POLICIES TOWARD THE  
REGION ENTER NEW ERA. THIS ALSO COULD BE BASED ON  
STRENGTHENED EXPERTS REPORT. HOWEVER, WE DO NOT  
BELIEVE IT NECESSARY TO RUSH THE DEVELOPMENT OF THIS NEW  
AREA OF CONSULTATIONS BY PUSHING FOR A PAPER AND A  
MEETING THIS MONTH.

-- OTHER REGIONS FOR WHICH NATO EXPERTS REPORTS ARE  
PREPARED--AFRICA, LATIN AMERICA, AND EASTERN EUROPE--  
COULD ALSO BE SUBJECT FOR REINFORCED NAC MEETINGS,  
BASED ON BEEFED-UP EXPERTS REPORTS (SEE PARA 7).

-- WITHIN THE LAST YEAR, THE ALLIES HAVE RECOGNIZED  
THAT ECONOMIC FACTORS BEAR FUNDAMENTALLY ON THE  
POLITICAL AND MILITARY STRENGTH OF THE ALLIANCE.  
FOLLOWING OUR INITIATIVE LAST JANUARY (I.E. THE PAPER  
ON STRATEGIC AND POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE ECONOMIC  
SITUATION) AND SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION, THE ECONOMIC  
DIRECTORATE IS EXPLORING WAYS TO PRESENT SIGNIFICANT  
ECONOMIC DATA WHICH BEARS ON SECURITY. WE AWAIT WITH  
INTEREST THE FRG REACTION TO OUR SUGGESTION THAT THEY  
PREPARE A NEW PAPER WHICH COULD LEAD TO FURTHER

DISCUSSION OF STRATEGIC AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF  
THE CURRENT ECONOMIC SITUATION.

-- OIL SUPPLY IS A VITAL SECURITY ISSUE FOR THE ALLIANCE.  
IT COULD BE USEFUL TO DISCUSS THE QUESTION OF OIL SUPPLY,  
AS IT PERTAINS TO DEFENSE PLANNING, INCLUDING THE  
IMPACT OF NORTH SEA OIL ON ALLIANCE SECURITY.  
CONSULTATIONS ON THIS ISSUE WOULD OF COURSE HAVE TO BE  
MANAGED SO AS NOT TO CONFLICT WITH IEA POLICIES

OR PREROGATIVES. IEA HAS ALREADY DEVELOPED PROGRAMS  
TO DEAL WITH CIVIL EMERGENCIES CAUSED BY SUPPLY  
DISRUPTIONS AND IS THE FOCUS OF POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS  
ON THE OIL ISSUE. WOULD APPRECIATE MISSION COMMENT ON  
THIS SUBJECT.

-- NATIONAL DEFENSE REVIEWS - CONCEPT OF REINFORCED  
DPC MEETINGS FOR ADDRESSING NATIONAL DEFENSE REVIEWS  
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INVOLVING CONSIDERATION OF SIGNIFICANT SHIFTS IN FORCE  
STRUCTURE COULD BE IMPORTANT AS WELL AS NOVEL. AS A  
STARTING POINT FOR INCREASED SENIOR PARTICIPATION IN  
DEFENSE MATTERS, MISSION SHOULD ENSURE THAT PERMREPS  
ARE BRIEFED ON THE RESULTS OF THE FALL DRC REVIEW OF  
NATIONAL FORCE PLANS.

-- REGIONAL DEFENSE PLANNING REVIEW - DPC IN PERMANENT  
SESSION WILL NOTE AND FORWARD IN NOVEMBER FOR  
MINISTERIAL CONSIDERATION AND APPROVAL THE ANNUAL  
REPORT BY THE MILITARY COMMITTEE (BASED ON MNC INPUT  
REPORTS) ON THE SUITABILITY OF THE NATIONAL FORCE PLANS  
AND ASSOCIATED DEGREE OF RISK. THE REPORT ON SUITABILITY  
AND RISK IS ORGANIZED BY REGION. ALTHOUGH BY NOVEMBER  
THE NATIONAL PLANS ARE FIRM AS ARE THE SUITABILITY  
AND RISK COMMENTS OF THE MILITARY COMMITTEE, PRESENCE OF  
SENIOR REPRESENTATIVES FROM CAPITALS AND FROM REGIONS  
COULD PROVE USEFUL. QUESTION OF TIMING OF REGIONAL  
MEETINGS OF SOME OFFICIALS MIGHT DEPEND ON CHOICE OF  
HOLDING REGIONAL MEETINGS IN SPRING BEFORE SUBMISSION  
OF NATIONAL PLANS IN ORDER TO INFLUENCE NATIONAL DECISIONS  
OR IN FALL FOR CLARIFICATION OF NATIONAL DECISIONS  
(IN PAST WE HAVE NOTED VERY LITTLE CHANGE IN NATIONAL  
PLANS DUE TO NATO CONSULTATION BETWEEN SUBMISSION DATE OF  
1 AUGUST AND MINISTERIAL APPROVAL IN DECEMBER). MISSION  
MIGHT ALSO CONSIDER ANNUAL VISIT BY DPC, REINFORCED OR  
OTHERWISE, TO EACH MAJOR REGIONAL MILITARY HEADQUARTERS.

-- ALLIANCE COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS - IN DEVELOPING  
ADDITIONAL IDEAS FOR REINFORCED NAC AND DPC MEETINGS,  
MISSION MAY WISH TO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION SEPTTEL ON  
SUBJECT OF NATO DEFENSE PLANNING AND RATIONALIZATION--

FALL 1975, AND SEPTTEL ON DEVELOPING A US PLAN OF ACTION FOR ADVANCING STANDARDIZATION OF WEAPONS SYSTEMS IN NATO.

-- NUNN AMENDMENT FOLLOW-ON - FOLLOW-ON ACTIONS RELATED TO THE THEATER NUCLEAR FORCE POSTURE, CONVERSION OF SUPPORT TO COMBAT FORCES, AND STANDARDIZATION ARE CONTINUING. THE NUNN AMENDMENT REPORTS AND ASSOCIATED CONFIDENTIAL

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ACTIONS SHOULD PROVIDE ADEQUATE OPPORTUNITIES FOR CONTINUED CONSULTATION WITHIN THE ALLIANCE.

6. SPC AND POLADS. BOTH ALLIED AND SOVIET/EE APPROACHES TO POST-CSCE PERIOD, AS SUGGESTED REFTTEL, WOULD BE APPROPRIATE TOPICS FOR SPC STUDY AND POSSIBLE REINFORCED NAC DISCUSSION. THIS IN TIME SHOULD INCLUDE MONITORING AND COORDINATING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CSCE'S RESOLUTIONS. QUESTION IS ONE OF TIMING, AND WE WOULD APPRECIATE MISSION'S COMMENTS. FURTHER SUGGESTION OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN SUB-SAHARA AFRICA AS STUDY TOPIC IS INTERESTING, BUT WOULD BECOME REDUNDANT IF THERE WERE TO BE A REINFORCED NAC ON AFRICA BASED ON EXPERTS REPORT. IN ANY EVENT, TOPIC WOULD BE MADE MORE MEANINGFUL BY INCLUSION OF CHINESE ACTIVITY IN AFRICA AS WELL, SINCE THEY ARE IN MANY RESPECTS SOVIETS' CHIEF RIVAL IN THE AREA.

7. REGIONAL EXPERTS. THE PROBLEM HERE IS HOW TO GIVE THESE HITHERTO ACADEMIC GATHERINGS A MORE MEANINGFUL ROLE IN ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS WITHOUT DESTROYING THEIR CHARACTER AS THE PRODUCT OF REGIONAL EXPERTS, NOT INSTRUCTED POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS. TO THIS END, DEPARTMENT INTENDS TO IMPLEMENT MISSION SUGGESTION OF ESTABLISHING INTERNAL EXPERT WORKING GROUP FOR EACH REGION. IN ADDITION TO SUPPLYING USNATO WITH SUGGESTIONS ON ISSUES WHICH EXPERTS SHOULD FOCUS ON IN THEIR SEMI-ANNUAL MEETINGS, THESE GROUPS COULD MEET WITH THE US EXPERT BEFORE AND AFTER HIS TRIP TO NATO TO REVIEW THE US WRITTEN CONTRIBUTION AND EVOLVE COMMENTS ON RESULTING NATO PRODUCT. THIS CLOSER DEFINITION OF ISSUES, AND ADDED ATTENTION TO THE US INPUT, IF RECIPROCATED BY ALLIES, WOULD HOPEFULLY PRODUCE EXPERT STUDIES WHICH COULD SERVE AS BASIS FOR REINFORCED NAC DISCUSSIONS BY POLICY-LEVEL OFFICIALS IN EACH AREA. WE WOULD APPRECIATE MISSION COMMENT ON THE FURTHER SUGGESTION OF EXPLORING POSSIBLE TIE-INS OR COORDINATION BETWEEN EC NINE AND NATO REGIONAL EXPERTS.

8. NATO-WIDE NETWORK. WE ARE REVIEWING DEPARTMENT'S PROCEDURES FOR CONTRIBUTING TO NATO-WIDE NET, IN

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LIGHT OF SUGGESTIONS REFTEL. KISSINGER

NOTE BY OC/T: EB TAKE FOR ORIGINAL.

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## Message Attributes

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